



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

ART. V. — *The Life and Career of Major John André, Adjutant-General of the British Army in America.* By WINTHROP SARGENT. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861. Small 8vo. pp. xiv. and 471.

THE author of this memoir is already favorably known as a diligent student of history, a candid critic, and an able and practised writer. Though he is still a young man, he has contributed much to periodical literature, and his name is also associated with one or two volumes published under his editorial supervision by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In the volume now before us, he furnishes additional evidence of the extent and variety of his information, and of the candid spirit in which he has conducted all his researches. His style is clear, animated, and rich in illustrations drawn from every department of elegant literature. His choice of a subject has been particularly fortunate, and he has wisely availed himself of the various advantages which it offers to a biographer. Notwithstanding the acquiescence of nearly all impartial writers in the justice of André's punishment, no one can retrace the sad story of his short and checkered life without feeling a strong sympathy with one so young, so accomplished, and so faithful to his own sense of right. We cannot, indeed, ignore the fact, that by all the rules of war his life was justly forfeited; but we know that his fate was deplored by Washington and the American officers whose duty it was to pass sentence on him, as well as by his personal friends and his associates in the pursuit of a common object. There was an attraction about his youthful appearance and his gentlemanly bearing which few could resist. "Never, perhaps, did any man suffer death with more justice, or deserve it less," Hamilton wrote to Laurens; and Washington himself left on record a similar declaration. As André "was more unfortunate than criminal," he wrote to the Count de Rochambeau, "and as there was much in his character to interest, while we yielded to the necessity of rigor, we could not but lament it."

In investigating the details of a story which, after the lapse of more than eighty years, still retains much of the interest

that André himself excited, Mr. Sargent has exhibited unwearied assiduity in collecting materials for its elucidation, and not a little discrimination in reconciling the conflicting statements of previous writers. "Every depository that could be heard of," he says in his Preface, "has been examined"; and a greater degree of success has rewarded his labors than might have been anticipated, if we take into view the shortness of André's life, and the thoroughness with which our Revolutionary annals had been explored. Still, as he frankly admits, he has not been able to add much to the scanty store of information respecting André's personal history, which was all that even his contemporaries possessed. We are sure, however, that no important fact has been overlooked, and on some connected topics Mr. Sargent has thrown new light. He has had access to several unpublished journals, numerous manuscript letters, and the unprinted annotations of Sir Henry Clinton in a copy of Stedman's History of the American War. From these and other sources he has constructed a narrative that is replete with interest, even when André himself is not the central figure on the page.\*

The early history of John André is involved in much obscurity, and neither the date nor the place of his birth is known. Mr. Sargent inclines to think that he was born in 1751, and either in London or at Southampton; and though the evidence on which this opinion rests is not altogether satisfactory, it is not probable that any better evidence will be discovered. His father was engaged in mercantile pursuits, and his mother, who was left a widow just as her son was approaching manhood, appears to have been a woman of intelligence and good sense. After pursuing a course of elementary study in England, at Hackney or at Westminster, or perhaps at both places, he was sent to Geneva to complete his education. Here he is

---

\* In the concluding chapter of his memoir Mr. Sargent presents some well-considered observations on the justice of André's sentence, together with a statement of the opinions of various English and American writers on this subject; but he has inadvertently fallen into an important error in ascribing to Lord Cornwallis the offensive language used by Mr. Ross, who edited the Correspondence of that remarkable man, and he has omitted to notice the opinion expressed by Mr. Massey, the latest English historian who has had occasion to speak of André. — See N. A. Review, No. 186, p. 118, and No. 189, p. 579.

said to have been an industrious student, and to have acquired great proficiency in mathematics and military drawing. On his return to England, when he was probably sixteen or seventeen years old, he entered his father's counting-room; but commerce had few attractions for him, and at times he felt strong doubts whether he should ever make a successful merchant. But at length he began "to look upon his future profession with great partiality." "I no longer see it in so disadvantageous a light," he wrote to a friend. "Instead of figuring a merchant as a middle-aged man, with a bob-wig, a rough beard, in snuff-colored clothes, grasping a guinea in his red hand, I conceive a comely young man, with a tolerable pig-tail, wielding a pen with all the noble fierceness of the Duke of Marlborough brandishing a truncheon upon a sign-post, surrounded with types and emblems, and canopied with cornucopias that disembody their stores upon his head; Mercuries reclined upon bales of goods; Genii playing with pens, ink, and paper; while, in perspective, his gorgeous vessels, 'launched on the bosom of the silver Thames,' are wafting to distant lands the produce of this commercial nation."

This change in his feelings may be traced without doubt to an attachment which he formed, not long after his father's death, for a young lady of great personal attractions, Honora Sneyd, the adopted daughter of Mr. Thomas Seward. At the outset this attachment appears to have been reciprocated; and the first fruits of his pencil were two miniatures of Miss Sneyd, one of which he gave to her guardian's daughter, Miss Anna Seward, and the other he retained himself. But in consideration of the youth of the lovers, and of the inability of young André at that time to provide a suitable maintenance for a wife, both Mr. Seward and Mrs. André deemed it best that they should not enter into any engagements, and, as Mr. Sargent suggests, that "they should be kept apart as much as possible, trusting that time would either wean them from their attachment, or bring the means of gratifying it." For several months afterward a correspondence was kept up between them, through the medium of Miss Seward, and it is clear from some of André's letters which have been preserved that there was no want of affection on his part; but gradually the lady's ardor cooled,

and it was not long before she consented to receive the addresses of other suitors. Among these was Thomas Day, author of "Sandford and Merton"; but this gentleman had few personal attractions to recommend him as a lover, and the eccentricity of his character also contributed to the rejection of his proposals. Another and more successful admirer was Richard Lovell Edgeworth, also well known as an author, and above all as the father of Maria Edgeworth. He was then a widower of twenty-five or twenty-six, with an ample estate in Ireland, agreeable manners, and a cultivated mind; and under these circumstances it is not surprising that his suit prospered. On the 17th of July, 1773, Honora Sneyd became his second wife.

It is uncertain how far André's subsequent fortunes were affected by the issue of this affair. On the one hand, Mr. Sargent shows conclusively that he did not enter the army, as has sometimes been supposed, in consequence of Honora's marriage; but on the other hand, it is certain, from the whole tenor of his printed letters to Miss Seward, that his early disinclination for a mercantile life was overcome by the thought of Honora. "But oh! my dear Honora, it is for thy sake only I wish for wealth," he wrote in one letter; and in another he expressed himself even more strongly: "When an impertinent consciousness whispers in my ear that I am not of the right stuff for a merchant, I draw my Honora's picture from my bosom, and the sight of that dear talisman so inspirits my industry that no toil appears oppressive." It is natural therefore to conclude, that, when he lost this incentive to action by the discovery that he no longer possessed her undivided affections, his early taste for the army revived, and he relinquished all hope of attaining wealth by means of an uncongenial profession. If he had married, it is scarcely probable that he would ever have entered the army; and, though he took this important step a year or two before Honora's marriage with Mr. Edgeworth, we entertain no doubt that his action in this respect was influenced almost entirely by the failure of his own suit,—in other words, that he entered the army because he had been crossed in love.

The authorities differ in regard to the precise date when he determined to adopt a military life; but we regard this discrepancy as of little importance, since the earlier of the two dates

assigned for his entrance into the army was nearly coincident with Mr. Day's offer of marriage, and there is no reason to suppose that André at that time anticipated a successful issue of his own suit, or that he was ignorant of the actual state of Miss Sneyd's feelings toward him. It was under these circumstances, as we are inclined to think, that André entered the army, in March, 1771, according to the statement of Mr. Edgeworth, or in the following January, according to another account, which seems to be equally trustworthy. A few months afterward he went over to Germany, but for what purpose is unknown; and it was not until the latter part of 1773 that he returned to England. During this interval he visited most of the German courts, and probably took measures to perfect himself in those parts of his professional education which he could not so well pursue at home. In the following year he embarked for America, in order to join his regiment, which was then stationed in Canada, and in September he landed at Philadelphia. From that city he proceeded, by way of New York and Boston, to his place of destination.

The first important service in which he was engaged after his arrival in Canada was as quartermaster of the seventh regiment, a part of which was stationed at St. John's, one of the principal military posts on the line of communication between Montreal and New York. Hostilities had already broken out between the mother country and the Colonies, and about the middle of September, 1775, the fort was invested by a considerable body of Americans, under command of General Montgomery. Owing to the want of discipline and a deficiency of ammunition in the attacking army, the siege progressed very slowly, and it was not until the 2d of November that the garrison capitulated. André was among the prisoners of war. "I have been taken prisoner by the Americans," he wrote to a friend in England, "and stripped of everything except the picture of Honora, which I concealed in my mouth. Preserving that, I yet think myself fortunate." While a prisoner he was detained in Pennsylvania, principally at Lancaster and Carlisle, where he gained many friends, by his amiable and unobtrusive manners, and by his readiness to contribute to the amusement and instruction of those with whom he was brought in contact.

Mr. Sargent prints for the first time several letters addressed to Caleb Cope, a Quaker and a loyalist, in which this trait is exhibited in a very pleasing light. Cope's son was a boy of good parts, with a decided taste for drawing, and André soon became much interested in him. The correspondence appears to have been begun with a letter from André, which is so creditable both to his head and his heart that we should scarcely do justice to either if we did not copy it at length : —

“SIR : — You wou'd have heard from me ere this Time had I not wish'd to be able to give you some encouragement to send my young Friend John to Carlisle. My desire was to find a Lodging where I cou'd have him with me, and some quiet honest family of Friends or others where he might have boarded, as it wou'd not have been so proper for him to live with a Mess of officers. I have been able to find neither and am myself still in a Tavern. The people here are no more willing to harbour us, than those of Lancaster were at our first coming there. If, however, you can resolve to let him come here, I believe Mr. Despard and I can make him up a bed in a Lodging we have in view, where there will be room enough. He will be the greatest part of the day with us, employ'd in the few things I am able to instruct him in. In the mean while I may get better acquainted with the Town, and provide for his board. With regard to Expençe this is to be attended with none to you. A little assiduity and friendship is all I ask in my young friend in return for my good-will to be of service to him in a way of improving the Talents Nature hath given him. I shall give all my attention to his morals, and, as I believe him well dispos'd, I trust he will acquire no bad habits here. Mr. Despard joins with me in compliments to yourself, Mrs. Cope, and Family. I am, Sir, your most humble servant.

“JOHN ANDRÉ.

“*Carlisle, April the 3d, 1776.*”

For some reason André's proposal was not accepted ; and in a subsequent letter he says : “ I cannot regret that you did not send your son hither. We have been submitted to alarms and jealousies which would have rendered his stay here very disagreeable to him, and I would not willingly see any person suffer on our account.” He continued, however, to take a warm interest in the boy's progress, and nearly every letter contains some reference to the subject.

Toward the close of the year an exchange of prisoners was

effected, and André regained his liberty. He repaired at once to New York with the remnant of his regiment, and was soon afterward raised to a captaincy, probably in consequence of the ability displayed in a memoir on the war, which he drew up and presented to the Commander-in-Chief. Early in the summer of 1777 he was appointed aide-de-camp to Major General Grey, a bold and enterprising officer, whose fame, however, has been eclipsed by the more peaceful renown of his son, Earl Grey. In this capacity André accompanied Sir William Howe's expedition to Philadelphia, and was present at the battle of the Brandywine, and also at the battle of Germantown.

At that time Philadelphia was the largest and most elegant city in America, though it was confined to a narrow strip of territory along the western bank of the Delaware River, and numbered but little more than twenty thousand inhabitants. Many of the citizens were royalists, and the possession of so important a place must have proved a fatal blow to the American cause, if Howe had been fit for the position assigned to him. But he exhibited even more than the usual fatuity of an English general in the American war, and, instead of profiting by his slowly gained advantages, he suffered the autumn and winter to pass in idleness. If we except the successful attacks on the American works at Mud Island and Red Bank, no important enterprise was undertaken by the English during their protracted sojourn in Philadelphia. While our troops were experiencing the untold horrors of the encampment at Valley Forge, the English army were amusing themselves with weekly balls, theatrical exhibitions, cock-fights, and other pastimes. In these festivities André took an active part, and he appears to have been a special favorite with the ladies. He was both scene-painter and actor at the theatre opened by the English officers; and some of his scenery is said to have been remarkably well painted; but of the character of his acting we have no account. Mr. Sargent tells us that "there is much reason for attributing" to him both the authorship and the recitation of the Prologue on the opening of the theatre.

"Once more, ambitious of theatric glory,  
Howe's strolling company appears before ye.

O'er hills and dales and bogs, through wind and weather,  
And many hair-breadth 'scape, we've scrambled hither.  
For we, true vagrants of the Thespian race,  
Whilst summer lasts ne'er know a settled place."

The first performance was given on the 26th of January, and plays were occasionally acted until the 19th of May, when the season closed with the once famous tragedy of Douglas.

But the most remarkable entertainment in which André participated while in Philadelphia was the *Mischianza*, as it was called, a curious medley arranged by the officers of the army as a compliment to Sir William Howe on the occasion of his return to England. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1778, is a letter from André to a friend in England, giving a minute account of this exhibition, which the writer described as "the most splendid entertainment, I believe, ever given by an army to their general." The festivities thus commemorated occurred on the 18th of May, 1778, and were celebrated partly on the river and partly at an elegant country-seat near the place where the navy-yard is now located. They consisted of a regatta, a tournament, a ball, and a grand supper, and began as early as half past four in the afternoon. André designed the costumes for the principal ladies, was himself one of the knights in the tournament, and took a very active part in all the preliminary arrangements. The entertainment commenced with a naval procession, arranged in three divisions, each composed of a galley gayly decked with flags, and of ten flat-boats, lined with green cloth, and filled with officers and ladies. In the central galley were Sir William Howe, his brother, Admiral Howe, and Sir Henry Clinton; and in front of the whole were three flat-boats with a band of music in each. Thus arranged, the boats rowed slowly down the river, keeping time to the music, until the tide became too strong for the galleys, when they were exchanged for smaller boats. On landing, the company formed in procession and marched to the lawn in front of the house, through an avenue lined with grenadiers and light-horse. The lawn had been arranged as a tilting-ground, and was also lined with troops and ornamented with triumphal arches. On each side of the first arch were pavilions, with seats rising tier above

tier, and filled with ladies. "On the front seat of each pavilion," André wrote in the letter already referred to, "were placed seven of the principal young ladies of the country, dressed in Turkish habits, and wearing in their turbans the favors with which they meant to reward the several knights who were to contend in their honor." The company were scarcely arranged when a herald appeared, preceded by four trumpeters, and accompanied by the seven "Knights of the Blended Rose," habited in white and red silk, "and mounted on gray horses, richly caparisoned in trappings of the same colors." André appeared as one of these knights, in honor of Miss P. Chew, — his device being "two game-cocks fighting," and his motto, "No Rival." After they had made the circuit of the square, the herald proclaimed his challenge, and the "Knights of the Burning Mountain" entered the lists, on black horses, and habited in black and orange silk. A furious encounter then ensued, which was at length closed by an intimation on the part of the ladies that they "were perfectly satisfied with the proofs of love, and the signal feats of valor given by their respective knights." From the tilting-ground the whole company proceeded to the house, where they regaled themselves with tea, lemonade, and other liquors, while the knights knelt and received their favors from the ladies. Shortly afterward the ball was opened by the knights; and at ten o'clock a grand display of fireworks was given. Supper was served at twelve, and the dancing was continued until four o'clock in the morning. In reading the account of this inglorious exhibition, it seems almost incredible that any officer who respected his own character or the character of the English army should have consented to accept such an ovation, or to be in any way connected with it, especially in a time of war, and while almost in presence of a hostile camp. "At the time of this silken and mock-heroic display," Mr. Irving remarks, "the number of British chivalry in Philadelphia was 19,530, cooped up in a manner by an American force at Valley Forge, amounting, according to official returns, to 11,800 men. Could any triumphal pageant be more ill-placed and ill-timed!"

Six days afterward Sir William embarked for England, and

immediate preparations were made by his successor for evacuating the city, without striking a blow. On the night of the 17th of June the troops left their quarters and went into camp; and on the 19th, Sir Henry Clinton began his retreat to New York. By his own judicious arrangements, and in consequence of Lee's misconduct at Monmouth, he was enabled to reach his place of destination with but little loss. On the 5th of July his army encamped on Staten Island. How André was employed during the rest of the summer does not appear; but in September he accompanied Major-General Grey in the expedition against New Bedford, and was sent back as bearer of despatches to Sir Henry Clinton. His next employment in the field was in the night attack on Tappan, a little village on the Hackensack River, famous as the scene of his execution a few months afterward; and on the return of General Grey to England he was appointed aide-de-camp to Sir Henry Clinton, with the provincial rank of major.

Not long afterward the army went into winter quarters, and New York soon became as gay and dissipated as Philadelphia had been. A theatre was opened, and many of the officers, including André, De Lancy, and other conspicuous persons, took part in the performances. André was also a frequent contributor to the columns of Rivington's Gazette. But the winter was chiefly memorable for the commencement of an intrigue which resulted in the treason of Arnold. Early in the year, that officer, pretending to be dissatisfied with much of the recent action of Congress, seized an opportunity to open a secret correspondence, under the feigned signature of Gustavus, with Clinton, who at once turned the subject over to André. The latter replied to Arnold's letter, under the signature of John Anderson, a name which seems to have been adopted quite as much for the purpose of indicating as of concealing the real character of the writer. An active correspondence ensued, and various arguments were skilfully adduced to persuade Gustavus to forsake the cause which he had espoused, and to follow the course pursued by Monk at the Restoration.

It is uncertain when the English first became aware of the real name of their unknown correspondent; but it is probable

that their suspicions were early aroused by the character of the information received from him, and it has been generally believed that André carried on a correspondence with Mrs. Arnold simultaneously with this intrigue. Mr. Sargent, however, thinks that only one letter passed between them; and to this he attaches very little importance, though it is scarcely probable that an officer of high rank in the English army should have written to the wife of an American general merely for the purpose of offering his services in the purchase of articles of millinery. Notwithstanding André had been acquainted with the family of Arnold's wife during the occupation of Philadelphia, we can only regard this letter as a lure. It is not necessary to suppose that Mrs. Arnold was at that time cognizant of her husband's intentions, though this is by no means improbable; but there can be little doubt that André's letter was written in the expectation that it would be shown to Arnold. It was as follows:—

“HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW YORK, the 16th Aug. 1779.

“MADAME. — Major Giles is so good as to take charge of this letter, which is meant to solicit your remembrance, and to assure you that my respect for you, and the fair circle in which I had the honour of becoming acquainted with you, remains unimpaired by distance or political broils. It would make me very happy to become useful to you here. You know the Mesquianza made me a complete milliner. Should you not have received supplies for your fullest equipment from that department, I shall be glad to enter into the whole detail of capwire, needles, gauze, &c., and, to the best of my abilities, render you in these trifles services from which I hope you would infer a zeal to be further employed. I beg you would present my best respects to your sisters, to the Miss Chews, and to Mrs. Shippen and Mrs. Chew. I have the honour to be, with the greatest regard, Madam, your most obedient and most humble servant,

“JOHN ANDRÉ.”

During the greater part of this year, Sir Henry Clinton remained inactive in New York, and though various predatory expeditions were set on foot, André does not appear to have been engaged in active service, except at the attack on the American works at Verplanck's Point. On the dismissal of Lord Rawdon from the office of Adjutant-General, André be-

came his successor; and in that capacity he accompanied the expedition which sailed, at the end of December, against Charleston. So many delays, however, occurred in the movements of both the fleet and the army, that it was not until the 1st of April that the troops were able to break ground before the city. The siege was conducted with much energy on both sides, and, after a protracted defence, the American commander, General Lincoln, was forced to surrender, on the 11th of May. Shortly after the capitulation André returned to New York. In connection with his account of the fall of this important position, Mr. Sargent refers to a story, which has sometimes gained credence in this country, that during the siege André was repeatedly present within the American lines as a spy; but he does not express any positive opinion on the question of its truth or falsehood. Not only, however, is the story in itself intrinsically improbable, but the evidence on which it rests is altogether insufficient. Only two persons are mentioned as having stated that they saw André within the American lines; and on a question of identity the testimony of so small a number of witnesses must always be received with extreme distrust. Moreover, these men were not familiar with André's features, and they were therefore especially liable to be deceived on such a point. One of them, indeed, never saw André, except on an occasion when he is said to have been disguised as a cattle-driver; and it was not until several months afterward that he was told that the pretended cattle-driver was in fact the Major André who had recently been hanged as a spy.

After André's return to New York the correspondence with Arnold was renewed with fresh vigor, and it soon became apparent that a personal interview of the parties was all that was needed to complete the negotiations. Meanwhile, as the former had few military duties to perform, he employed his pen in lampooning the American generals, and during the summer he contributed "The Cow Chase" to Rivington's Gazette. This famous satire is in three cantos, and contains some spirited lines and not a few specimens of genuine humor, though for the most part its tone is coarse, and its versification is rough and unpolished. It has been often reprinted, and is given at

length by Mr. Sargent, with numerous illustrative notes, beside those appended to the early editions.

Immediately after the completion of the third canto of this satirical ballad, André left New York on his fatal errand to meet Arnold. The circumstances connected with this part of André's life are so well known to every reader of American history, that a very brief summary of them will be sufficient for our purpose. They form one of the most important episodes in the history of the Revolution, and have been traced with great fulness of detail and accuracy of statement by Sparks and Irving. Mr. Sargent's account is still more minute and elaborate, and deserves special commendation for its candor and impartiality. The outline of this familiar story may be given, however, in very few words. An unsuccessful attempt to effect an interview between Arnold and André at Dobbs's Ferry had already been made, and had failed only in consequence of the firing of an English sloop-of-war, the *Vulture*, on Arnold's barge, while he was on the way to the place of meeting. On the 20th of September, a little more than a week after the failure of this attempt, André again left New York in the hope of meeting Arnold, and the same night went on board of the *Vulture*, then lying in Haverstraw Bay. In the course of the following day he found means to communicate with Arnold, who about midnight sent a boat with muffled oars to bring off the English agent. André readily accepted the proffered conveyance, and, landing at the Long Clove under an assumed name, proceeded at once to hold a secret conference with Arnold. It is probable that, before their negotiations were completed, the approach of dawn compelled him to postpone his return to the vessel; and during the day he remained concealed within the American lines. After breakfasting at the house of Joshua H. Smith, who had been employed to bring André on shore, the two officers repaired to an upper room, where they held another long and secret interview. We are ignorant what arguments were urged by these negotiators in settling the terms of their bargain, but they produced the desired effect, and it is not difficult to form a pretty clear idea of the plan of operations by which Arnold's treason was to be consummated. Before ten o'clock the arrangements

were definitely settled, and the American general set off for head-quarters, having first placed in André's hands several important papers relative to the condition of the works at West Point and to the number of men then in garrison. The same afternoon André started on his return to New York by land, in disguise, and with the papers received from Arnold concealed in his stockings. He encountered few obstacles on his journey until he had nearly reached Tarrytown, when he was stopped by a party of three Americans, who searched him and speedily discovered the evidence of his recent interview with Arnold. Satisfied that he was a spy, they at once carried him to the nearest post, and delivered him up to the commanding officer.

As soon as Arnold was informed of what had occurred, he made his escape on board of the *Vulture*, and was conveyed to New York. Meanwhile Washington was returning with his suite from a visit to Connecticut; and he reached West Point only a few hours after Arnold's flight. By his orders André was brought up to head-quarters the same evening. "I would not wish Mr. André to be treated with insult," he wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson; "but he does not appear to stand on the footing of a common prisoner of war, and therefore he is not entitled to the usual indulgences which they receive, and is to be most closely and narrowly watched." No examination of the case appears to have been made at this time, and two days afterward André was sent to Tappan to await the action of a Court of Inquiry. On the 29th of September a Board of General Officers was convened there, consisting of fourteen members, under the presidency of Nathanael Greene, next to Washington the greatest of our Revolutionary generals, and including among the number Stirling, Lafayette, Steuben, Clinton, Knox, and Glover. After a careful consideration of the subject and a personal examination of André, they unanimously reported the following facts and opinion: —

"First, That he came on shore from the *Vulture* sloop-of-war, in the night of the 21st of September inst., on an interview with General Arnold, in a private and secret manner.

"Secondly, That he changed his dress within our lines, and under a feigned name, and in a disguised habit, passed our works at Stony and

Verplanck's Points the evening of the 22d of September inst., and was taken the morning of the 23d of September inst. at Tarrytown, in a disguised habit, being then on his way to New York, and, when taken, he had in his possession several papers, which contained intelligence for the enemy.

"The Board, having maturely considered these facts, do also report to his Excellency General Washington, that Major André, Adjutant-General to the British army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy; and that, agreeable to the law and usage of nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death."

This opinion was approved by Washington on the following day, and the execution was appointed to take place at five o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st of October. Meanwhile strenuous exertions were made by the English to procure his release; and on the very day appointed for his execution a messenger arrived from Sir Henry Clinton with a letter for Washington, setting forth that, in the opinion of the writer, the latter could not have been rightly "informed of all the circumstances on which a judgment ought to be formed," and announcing his intention to send Lieutenant-General Robinson, Lieutenant-Governor Elliot, and Chief Justice Smith to give to him a true statement of the facts, and to declare the writer's sentiments and resolutions. In deference to Clinton's request, and perhaps in the hope that Arnold might be captured or surrendered, André was respited until the following day, and General Greene was deputed to meet Robinson, who alone was permitted to land. Accordingly an interview took place between them, but without producing any result; and at the appointed hour on Tuesday, October 2, 1780, the sentence of the court was executed. André had applied to be shot, as a mode of punishment less revolting to the feelings of a man of honor than that ordinarily adopted; but motives of policy imperatively required that no change should be made, and no answer was returned to his application. About noon he was hanged as a spy in the presence of the whole army. Thus died, in the flower of his youth, one of the most promising officers in the English army, who under happier circumstances might have risen to the first rank in his profession, and have left an unspotted name. "To an excellent understanding," says Ham-

ilton, who was much attracted toward him, “well improved by education and travel, he united a peculiar elegance of mind and manners, and the advantage of a pleasing person. ’Tis said he possessed a pretty taste for the fine arts, and had himself attained some proficiency in poetry, music, and painting. His knowledge appeared without ostentation, and embellished by a diffidence that rarely accompanies so many talents and accomplishments; which left you to suppose more than appeared. His sentiments were elevated, and inspired esteem: they had a softness that conciliated affection. His elocution was handsome, his address easy, polite, and insinuating.”

Forty-one years after the execution of André, his body was disinterred, and removed to England, to find its last resting-place beneath the arches of that venerable Abbey where are laid the mortal remains of so many kings and warriors, orators and poets, statesmen and scholars, of nearly every generation since the Conquest, — a mightier company than is gathered anywhere else on earth. He is buried in the south aisle; and not far off is the mural monument erected to his memory by George III. to commemorate both his virtues and the circumstances of his death.

The justice of André’s sentence has often been impugned by English writers, and the mode of its execution has also been condemned. But the difficulties of the case are in truth very small, and the tendency of opinion among the best-informed writers in England is now strongly toward acquiescence in the American view. Neither the character of the persons by whom he was arrested, the possession of a safe-conduct signed by Arnold, nor the question whether he landed under cover of a flag of truce, has any material bearing on the subject. A flag of truce cannot be prostituted for a purpose utterly at variance with the character of such a flag; nor can a safe-conduct issued in the prosecution of a treasonable design clothe its possessor with any immunity. No case, indeed, exactly like that of André, so far as we know, had previously arisen in the history of war; but the principles by which it was to be decided were simple and of easy application, and beside André’s own confession there was abundant evidence as to the true character of his mission.

Apart from the infamy which attaches to the business of a spy, no stain rests on his memory. He was warm-hearted, generous, and affectionate in the relations of private life, and no man had more devoted friends. His early manhood was clouded by disappointed hopes ; but after he joined the army he seems to have recovered the natural elasticity of his spirits, and he entered warmly into the various amusements by which the English troops in America enlivened the tedium of garrison duty. His parts were originally good, and they were probably better cultivated than those of most of his associates. His letters are in general written with ease and dignity ; his poetry is not without merit ; and his pen-and-ink sketches and other drawings are creditable alike to his skill and to his taste in such matters.

---

ART. VI. — 1. *Essai sur Tite Live*. Par H. TAINE, ancien Élève de l'Ecole Normale, Docteur ès Lettres. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Française. Deuxième Edition. 1 vol. 12mo.

2. *Les Philosophes Français du XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*. Par H. TAINE. Deuxième Edition. 1 vol. 12mo.

3. *Essais de Critique et d'Histoire*. Par H. TAINE. Deuxième Edition. 1 vol. 12mo.

4. *La Fontaine et ses Fables*. Par H. TAINE. Troisième Edition. 1 vol. 12mo. 1861.

THE French press is still noted for the impartiality, soundness, and originality of its literary criticism. It has always been one of the leading habits of the Paris periodicals to open their columns to elaborate essays, often the first efforts of men destined in after life to occupy the highest rank in the science and politics of their country. Some papers, such as *Le Pays* and *La Presse*, publish weekly flippant and superficial articles ; but others, among which *Les Débats* occupies a prominent place, invariably print critical notices which vie in importance with the most finished dissertations to be found